/58/

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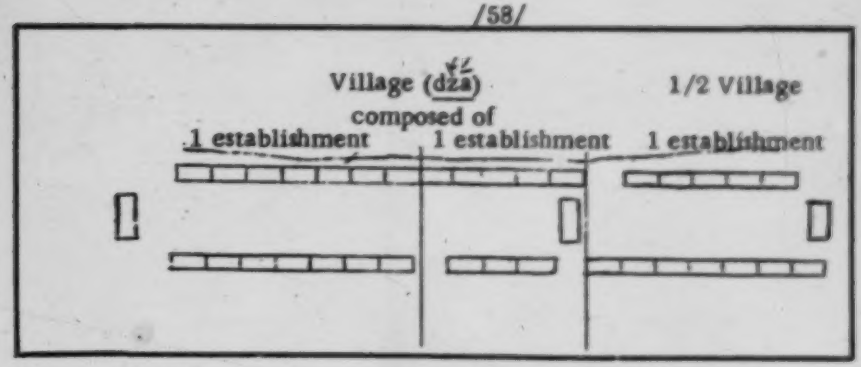

Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

621 622 344 to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief of the village Nssälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so, 623 the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe 461 avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary 359 peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

zó[k] e tsídan ebē-asē, a ve oa
Elephant, he frightened away (from) pit-iron-stone, he gave you

até, a nī oa adzīt
poverty, he took (from) you heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

262 frequently pouring on water, grinds them to flour (half a basket of ears produces a heaping basketwork plate of flour from which three loaves are made). The flour in a basketwork plate lined with leaves is stirred with water to form a batter; salt, pepper, and frequently [262] also shrimp and dragonfly larvae are added. This batter, as in the case of the women's cassava nkúma mbún, is placed in a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the shape of a stirrup, and it is boiled for an hour in a pot with a little water. The end result is a dish which, while it is rather heavy, tastes quite good. /160/

(d) Maize mush (ngbwét).

Maize mush is made of fresh maize flour which, when boiled, makes a white pulpy soup. Since I have not closely observed its preparation, I am unable to give any details.

The remaining plants, such as taro, macabo, yams, and so forth, are not sufficiently important to be discussed in relation to the various ways of preparing them. The reader will, I think, from the information given so far, derive a clear enough picture of the multiple uses made by the Pangwe of their vegetable foodstuffs.

Meat is boiled in pots by itself -- just like fish, which, as among us, are dressed and scaled -- or it is boiled in a leaf bundle with groundnuts and ngon. As for other ways of preparation, the [265] Pangwe are familiar with roasting, but they use this method only in order to make the food keep and to preserve it.

264 Meals are quite irregular and poorly distributed:

[539] "kikitase afɔ̃k anɨ̄, hamoś ebaǹ e nkɔ́k,
In the morning a little bit for the mouth, (mid) day a loan for the jaw,

alu bepfúm"
at night, quite full.

In the morning, soon after getting up, they usually eat a small amount of a cold cassava dish or something similar, which the women have cooked the night before since they usually have to go to the plantations early. In the course of the forenoon they content themselves with a little snack of cassava bread, bananas, and the like.

3. Care of the body.

515 By and large, the Pangwe may be called a very clean people,
539 cleaner than many European peoples. The majority wash and bathe very frequently, and the following proverb shows how a person who does not wash is judged:

otɨ̄ kɪ̄ -mfɔ̄ɔ̄	a	dɪ̄ɣ̄nɪ̄:	kɪ̄	mvɔ̄ɔ̄
Old pocket (1)	she	said thus:	if now there is	rain

[195] 1. A common term of abuse for men, similar to our "old hag" for women.

a	bɔ̄/de	ma,	ngbɔ̄na	a	wɔ̄/ban	e	madɪ̄ɪ̄m	a
it	wets	me,	time	to	wash	in the	water,	it

bɛ̄	ma	anɪ̄
was	for me	just!

That is: "The rain came just in time, it was high time for a bath."

164 The many skin diseases, from which younger people suffer
515 with special frequency, seem to have causes other than uncleanliness, /187/ although it must be admitted that among many Negroes there is an incredible indifference with respect to the care of the body, treatment of wounds, and parasites. In general, however, one can only praise the Pangwe for their cleanliness.

515 Formerly, even soap, made from a Rubiacea (ogbwā'm Fang,
319 ogbwɛ̄'mɛ̄ Ntum), was customarily used for washing bark cloth.
324

515 There are no fleas, but on the other hand there are vast num-
278 bers of lice which are picked off and killed by biting them -- the
824 women swallow them at the same time. They are also killed by special medicines. These medicines are made with raffia palm oil which is rubbed on the skin and which the lice do not like to begin with. To the oil is added charred and ground plantain skins or the ground and subsequently dried roots of the Apocynacea Doacanga diplochlamys K. Sch. (oɣ̄ metɨ̄ɣ̄ Ntum), ground leaves and blossoms of the Simarubacea Quassia africana Baill. (ɪ̄vɨ̄ɣ̄-elɪ̄'), and ground leaves of the Malpigiacea Heteropteris africana A. Juss.

1: Tessmann--252 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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trellis is constructed over the smelting box. Smelting requires a number of hours. The very soft iron obtained is pounded to pieces and then forged."
[113] (From Mittellungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/ by Friedrich von Danckelman, 1895, page 63.

/230/ /Fig. 182 appears here in the original text./

/231/ Now the bellows workers (nǎ̌ǎ̌, -nǎ̌ǎ̌m) put their two tools, which they have brought with them, into position, and in the manner already indicated stick the blast pipe into the furnace in place of the guide rod, so that the funnel-shaped end juts outward about ten to twelve centimeters. Then they arrange the bellows (Drawing 1, o) in such a way that its mouth is from two to three centimeters from the blast pipe and clamp it between two pairs of sticks, called mvǎ̌k (see Fig. 183), which are planted in the ground. This simple arrangement has given rise to the following
[539] proverb:

bokui bo vǒde akǎ̌ǎ̌ o mvǎ̌k =

The Pygmies, they despaired of smelting because (of the) the holding sticks (which they did not know how to attach).
This proverb is said whenever some great enterprise fails because of a trifle.

325 461 791 Now everybody sits down on tree trunks around the furnace. A piece of red-hot charcoal is introduced into the furnace through one of the blast pipes, and then the working of the bellows begins (Fig. 184). This is done in the following manner. First one and then the other hide are alternately pulled up and down by hand, or, if one wants to work at high pressure, both hides are pulled together. This is a strenuous and monotonous job which the natives try to alleviate as much as possible by singing, which is led by the medicine man (in Plate 17, the gentleman to the right with folded arms), by shouting, laughing, talking, and telling stories. Above all, the

777 case he has successfully passed the test, is washed with the water from the leaf vessel, and receives the crocodile's stone (Fig. 54) which will help him in the future to become a great chief and very wealthy. If he goes to the pile on which the things for young people are heaped, he will become a philanderer, and as such he will waste his money and come to nought. If he should go to the first pile, he is sure to become insane.

777 538 Many tales portray the effects of medicines for wealth which Essamniamabōge makes for one of his sons, usually Ekute E., who has sought him out in the land of the spirits. Here, too, a place is always cleared under a Copaifera, and Essamniamabōge then has an entire miniature village [illegible] up, with many huts or other

Fig. 54
Medicine for Wealth (stone from a crocodile's stomach, tied between little sticks so as not to be lost).

things to symbolize the treasures that can be expected. In addition, Essamniamabōge gives his son boxes which contain helpful souls who later will obtain wealth for the person, just like the little men of our fairy tales. Also, as frequently happens in our tales, the conclusion is always that all treasures, especially the houses and wives, disappear at one stroke, usually through the fault of the person concerned, and the man who was wealthy a moment ago is again as poor and miserable as before. Such a tale is reproduced here.

Ekute Essamniamabōge among the Souls

539 777 Ekute once said to himself, "Oh, I would like to go to the place where my mother was born!" Ekute had only his mother

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777 and three brothers in the village; otherwise he possessed absolutely nothing, not even a wife, nor did his /153/ brothers have anything. For this reason he set out to visit his relatives on his mother's side, that is, the souls. He soon came to a large forest full of animal trails, and it was not long before he met a porcupine that had hung a bell around his hunting dog's neck so it would track down other porcupines, "for," said the porcupine to Ekute, "the others have eaten my mother's cassava." Thereupon Ekute said, "Why is it that you kill other porcupines; are you not one yourself?" Then the porcupine answered, "That is an affair (1) caused by the souls. Turn around and don't go to them."

1. dzĭm, coastal English, "palaver."

Ekute, however, went on. He soon met a bird that was setting up a trap to catch birds. Then Ekute asked again, "Why do you want to kill other birds; are you not a bird yourself?" The bird answered, "Oh, that is because of the affair with the souls. Turn around and don't go into their land!" Ekute went on, however, and met two pigs that were setting up a pitfall to kill other pigs. In answer to Ekute's question, one pig said that they were doing it because other pigs were in the habit of eating their mother's cassava. Then Ekute asked once more, "Why do you want to kill other pigs when you yourselves belong to the family of pigs?" To this the pigs answered, "That is because of the souls; turn around and go back to the land of men!" Ekute did not want to take their advice, whereupon the pig said, "Ah, Ekute, I thought that by now you had finally developed some sense, but I see that you are just as stupid as before. Go your way to wherever you please!" Then Ekute encountered an antelope that had set up a fixed net. He asked the antelope, "Oh, what are you doing here with the fixed net?" Thereupon the antelope said in reply, "How can you ask such stupid questions, Ekute; I am here to catch the other antelopes." At that Ekute was very surprised, but the antelope asked, "Where do you want to go?" Ekute said, "I want to visit the relatives of my mother." The animal replied, "In that case just go along the path that I have

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539 taken, and keep going straight until you arrive at a deserted clearing; there you will be close to the village." Then Ekute went on and passed many other animals, elephants, kudu, and so forth, all of which were engaged in a hunting drive. He went on for a long time, for three days, until he finally came to a village where a man was sitting, and the man said, "Now then, where do you want to go?" Ekute answered, "Oh, I want to find the sons of my mother; am I not on the right track here?" To this the man replied, "Yes, indeed, just go into the next village, there you will see them all." So Ekute went on and came to a large village that was full of animals. They were all there, the antelope, the pig, the eagle, the dog, the leopard, the elephant; /154/ oh my! Then said Ekute: "Am I not in the village of my grandfather here?" The animals confirmed this. Then Ekute went into the meeting house and wanted to sit down, whereupon many voices called out about him, "Oh, oh, what do you think you're doing, sitting down on us?" Then he sat down elsewhere, but as he did so a voice said, "Oh, Ekute, look out for my feet; why do you have to sit down just here?" Ekute, however, saw none of the souls, because human beings cannot see souls. Thereupon he said to the invisible beings, "Oh, I just wanted to visit my grandfather and his relatives; if you don't like me, I shall go back again. Whenever I sit down somewhere, I am told, 'Not here,' but I don't see anybody, so what shall I do?" His grandfather finally came shortly thereafter; he took a leaf bag and put medicine into Ekute's ears. The latter immediately fell down dead and awoke as a soul. Then he saw all the people, many, many, and only then did he see properly the large village in which he found himself. All the houses were covered, whereas previously he had seen them with only rafters. Then Ekute spoke, "Oh, Grandfather, I have nothing, no chickens, no sheep, absolutely nothing, and at the same time I have three brothers, who also have nothing, and my old mother. Now I wanted to ask you, if you had a chicken or a sheep, whether you would give it to me (1), for I don't have

1. Of course as marriage money for a wife.

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a wife either." Thereupon the grandfather laughed and said, "Oh, that doesn't matter, it will all turn out all right; first have a proper meal." Thereupon he caught a big pig, killed it, and ate it with his grandson. The next day they slaughtered a sheep, and so they lived happily in great style. After some time, the grandfather said to Ekute, "Come, we shall go into the jungle on that side, and there I shall show you everything; you will become a great chief, and everyone will marvel at you." So they went into the jungle until they came to a large Copaifera (2). There the grandfather said, "Clear everything

2. Copaifera tessmannii Harms.

away carefully around this tree, down to there." The grandfather then went down and asked, "Do you see me?" Ekute said, "No." Then his grandfather said, "Clear that side too!" Ekute did as he was told. "Now you must make little houses, forty on this side and forty on that side!" That, too, Ekute did. Then the grandfather knocked on the Copaifera and behold, it immediately shrank and became so small that they could knock off firewood from its branches. With this they made a large fire on which they boiled the medicine. The grandfather went to a small river and brought with him two bark boxes that could run by themselves. When he called to them, "Come, come," they came by themselves. Now the grandfather spoke, "Dear Ekute, all the things that I am able to give you are here. Take these boxes, they are enchanted boxes, and do not hide them in your village, but underneath /155/ the brook in the vicinity of your village, and in such a way that no one can find them, for if someone should, all is lost. Now when you return, you merely need to utter a wish and it will be fulfilled; the boxes will help you." Thereupon Ekute replied, "Ah, Grandfather, I don't think what you are telling me is quite right." But the grandfather retorted, "Oh yes it is, just go there. Your village will grow and become large, and you will build eighty huts, for you will marry eighty wives, just as you have built eighty houses

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●539 here, and call on the boxes." Ekute did this and called, "Come, come." They did come, and Ekute was very happy and said, "Yes, now I see that you have shown me everything." After the grandfather had once more knocked on the tree to make it regain its original size, the two went back into the village. There, as a pretense in front of the people, the grandfather said that he did not have much to give away and that Ekute was to go home again, but that he would accompany him to the next village. This is what he did, and on the way the grandfather once more instructed him not to display the boxes, but to bury them under the designated brook. Thereupon the grandfather again gave Ekute the medicine that he had dropped in his ears, and Ekute was again a human being and went with his boxes through the forest to his village. When he came to the brook just outside his village, which his grandfather had told him about, he dug another bed for the brook, made a hole in the old bed, and placed the boxes inside it. Then he threw dirt over them and redirected the course of the brook (1). He then went into his village. The

1. This idea is not new and reminds one of the burial of a dead body in a river bed. Thus, Mgr. Le Roy reports on the Okoa, a Pygmy people on the Gabon, in the following manner. "In the middle of the forest the course of a brook is redirected and the corpse, which is wrapped in mats and pieces of bark, is lowered into the pit dug into the bed of the brook. This is done around midnight, and the women and children are kept away. A large stone is placed on the head of the corpse, and it is surrounded completely with loam to prevent the water from getting to it." See also "Das Grab im Busento /The Grave in the Busento/." /Ed., a poem by Von Platen, a German poet of the nineteenth century/.

people there were of course greatly surprised, and one of his

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559 brothers said, "Oh, Ekute, we thought that you had died long ago since you were gone for such a long time. What have you been doing?" Ekute answered, "Ah, I have been running around in the forest and was close to starvation, but I saw no one." Then the brother said, "Oh, Ekute, you are stupid; why do you go so far away? In the meantime we were close to dying of starvation." Then Ekute went into the village where his three houses stood, and seeing that everything was grown over, he said, "Oh, I see that my village has been in ruins for a long time." /156/ Thereupon he cleaned up the area near his house so that it was nice and tidy. Overnight, however, as though by magic hands, the entire village was made so clean and the houses so pretty that one seldom sees the like. All the people who passed by marveled and said, "Oh, what a charming little village; we shall rest here a while." People brought him all kinds of trinkets and gave them to him as a present. At this point, he heard that there was a girl in a village to the east, and he decided to go there immediately. But his brother said, "What, you just came back from a journey, and nothing is in order in your house; you have nothing beautiful on your body, and you are not even oiled." Ekute asked his brother to arrange his headgear nicely. He then tied a brass collar around his neck, put brass rings on his feet and arms, and so went into the village where the girl lived. When he came to the girl's father and spoke to him about his daughter, the father said, "Ah, Ekute, you have absolutely nothing for marriage, but if you want to become friends with my daughter, that's all right too." Then Ekute went to the girl, and when he saw that she liked him, he asked her whether she would not like to go with him to his village later. The girl replied, "Oh, Ekute, you're beating about the bush; I'm ready to go with you any time." Then Ekute said, "Let us depart at once." But the girl replied, "Ah, no, at the moment the food is on the fire." When the food was ready, she offered it to Ekute who, however, said, "Please, let's go; I am not hungry at the moment." Then the girl put the food in a bundle and went with Ekute -- it had meanwhile become night -- to his village. The next morning Ekute asked himself in despair where he was to get the money;

177 he now had a wife, but no money to pay for her. Soon, indeed,
539 the girl's father appeared and reproached Ekute for his thoughtlessness, saying, "Give me back the girl since you cannot pay." Then the man turned around, and when Ekute went into his house, lo and behold! -- there stood five large chests full of spear money and a chest with cloth, as well as a great many other things. Thereupon he called his brother, and with him took all the things to his father-in-law's village. The latter was greatly astonished and thought to himself, "How did this Ekute, who just a little while ago didn't have anything, get all these things?" To Ekute himself, however, he said, "My dear son, you are heartily welcome; I see that you have an enormous amount of money and that you will indeed become a great chief." At this Ekute was, of course, very happy, and he said to himself, "Indeed, now I have a wife, but no plantation from which to make a living." Then he remembered his grandfather's words and went into the forest to pick out a place for the plantation. During the night, chop, chop, the invisible souls cleared the site of the plantation by cutting down the trees and burning it over. When Ekute arrived /157/ the next morning, he found the plantation cleared and burned. Then he said, "Now the tree trunks still have to be removed, and we still need boundaries for the plots for two women, that is, for my mother and for my wife." The next day this also had been done, and Ekute said happily to his mother and wife, "Now plant ngon in the ground; it's time for you to get to work." Then his mother asked him, "What, have you prepared everything and put in the boundary lines already?" "Certainly," said Ekute. Then the two women went to the plantation and planted ngon. Also the souls helped him build a house for his wife. Ekute then went to find another wife, and since he always had bride money in the house, it was only a short time before he had seventy-nine wives. All the plantations and all the houses were prepared for him by the souls. Then, one day, he heard that not far away there lived a very beautiful girl by the name of Odangemakông (1). He wanted to ask for her

1. That is, "she who surpasses all in cleverness."

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539 hand as well, but his brother warned him, "Oh, when you hear that something is called Odangemakõng, it's very bad; you had better not marry this girl." But Ekute answered, "Come now, why shouldn t I marry her?" Indeed, the girl immediately fell in love with him, and he took her back to his village as his wife. In the evening, however, the girl said, "Please sleep with one of your other wives tonight; I don't feel like it!" Accordingly, Ekute did so, and when he had gone to sleep, Odangemakõng made a fire by lighting a piece of wood and then asked, "All these many things that Ekute has, where do they come from? From this direction?" -- The fire kept burning. -- "From that direction?" -- The fire kept burning. -- "From that direction?" And she pointed in the direction of the path leading to the brook, whereupon the fire went out. Then she went along the path, and when she came to the brook, she again made a fire for the medicine and said, "Where is this affair that has produced all these things? Here?" And the fire kept burning. "And here ? and here?" -- and as she asked, she pointed in all directions, but the fire kept burning. Then she pointed down to where she was standing, and the fire immediately went out. She thereupon began to divert the brook's water and dug and dug until she finally found the two little boxes. Then she said, "So that's the affair," and opened the lids, whereupon, whoops, all the helpful souls contained in them escaped from both boxes and returned to the land of the souls. The wife herself went back to the village and very quickly packed all her things. During the night, however, Ekute came out of the house and said, "Ah, I don't know what has got into my head; I can't sleep at all tonight, so I want to sleep with you." But Odangemakõng called out, "Don't come, don't come into my house!" Then Ekute returned to his house and lay down. Odangemakõng took all her things and returned to her father, to whom she said, "When this man sees that all is spoiled and finds me tomorrow, he will /158/ kill me." The next day Ekute woke up and could not believe his eyes, because everything, the entire village, was gone, and only the three old houses remained as they had been at first; all the women, everything

777 was gone. Then his brother said, "You see what I told you?
539 If you had not married this woman, everything would have been as it was yesterday, but as it is you have nothing left." Emam mese masámabo ava. (Customary conclusion of tales.)

It is noteworthy that homosexual intercourse is included
777 among the medicines for wealth because it is believed that
838 through the intimate contact the medicine of one will be transferred to the other. In a case known to me in Ebalngon, the passive party possessed the medicine and the active party wanted to acquire it. Another case is related in the tale that I reproduce in Section 18. In actual fact it might turn out that the effect of the medicine consists in the mutual support the two "friends" render each other, based chiefly on the consciousness of common guilt and the endeavor not to let this guilt be known. This medicine is not without danger, for in the case just mentioned it was related that one of the men became blind and the other leprous, and in the tale both parties become leprous or suffer from frambesia.

A variant of the medicines for wealth consists of those
777 which especially help one to marry or abduct women (biã́ń e bə́m); another variant consists of the means to acquire influence and respect (biã́ń e bame, biã́ń a vɔ̃ge), such as the great Anonacea
824 Pachypodanthium confius Pierre, Engl. et D. (ntɨm I) and the Melastomacea Memexylon tessmannii Gilg (ntɨ́mɨ́ IV) which, in addition, is also regarded as an authentic medicine for wealth.

In addition to the medicines for acquiring wealth, the most
832 important and the most common are the love medicines (biã́ń anduman). No less than about 100 different plants are placed in the service of Venus.

If the inhabitants of a village have the idea that the love affairs of the young people need revitalizing, a general love medicine festival (engə́ńeżɔ́k) is arranged, which is celebrated under the supervision and with the cooperation of the ancestral skulls worshipped in the Malan. Consequently, only the initiates of the Malan may take part. The course of the festivities together with the period of preparation corresponds to that described in the section on cult festivals /Ed., not translated/: two feast

755 of the head and hands. In the case in question the good Schona, the name of the boy, feigned these symptoms very well. The Bokung man was summoned, and /168/ drums were set up in front of the sick man's house; the Bokung man disappeared for a moment in the bushes and then reappeared as a chimpanzee (see the Bokung cult, page 65 /Ed., not translated/), amidst the screaming of reed pipes, and performed the ape dance while his assistant prepared the medicines that the sick person was to drink. Then the patient had placed around his neck a raffia pith rope that had been dipped in medicinal red wood (so he would feel as light as raffia pith is light). A line was drawn around about his body with the same color, and the medicine man then uttered the following incantation through the reed pipe:

755 a ŝóna, a ŝóna, a pfulan a bónenga
539 O Schona, O Schona, be together (ate) with women

kábád a ke adán kú ojó'b, a bélé
goat, he goes to step over turtle over, he is possessed

ete, bokún a bélé nie,
by it, Bokung he has him (made possessed)

nkaku malán a nim ebé
? oil palms?, make straight (like) stick (of the)

dzán, myú yú, ma nyón nkí I,
raffia, dog he dies, I take dorsal vertebra,

a káb, a nim, olú nkí'í'
take away, make straight, (into the) water down

wó, nyú adán, nyú a yó's.
(onomatopoetic) skin unsurpassable, skin it easily.

This song -- like many purification songs -- is evidently very ancient and in part no longer understood. Through its agency the

755 sickness is supposed to be taken away. By way of explaining the
539 verse it may be observed that the initiates of the Bokung and Elong cult are forbidden to eat goats or sheep with women and are forbidden to eat turtles or to step over them. It is assumed that the sick person may have transgressed one of these prohibitions. The phrase "making straight" refers to the sick person, since he is supposed to become as straight as a raffia stick; the dog represents the scapegoat that is killed and whose dorsal vertebra (the stuff causing the sickness is in the spinal marrow) is thrown into the water instead of the patient's in order to indicate that together with its habitation the sickness itself is to be washed away, taken away. Then the sick man will feel light. Of course, the presence of women is strictly prohibited.

755 Of a Ngi sufferer it is said: ngí a bélé nif, that is, Ngi has
124 him, has made him possessed. The treatment is carried out by the Ngi man who appears in the sick man's village amidst roaring and clanging of cymbals; with the Ngi bones in his hand he then dances about to the accompaniment of drum music. In the case that I witnessed, /169/ the barks of various plants were then dissolved in water; among them were especially the following: Leea guineensis Don (afóbesón), Musanga smithii R. Br. (asón), Trema guineense (Schum.) Engl., Vernonia conferta Bth., Costus, Emilia, Uapaca, Antidesma, and Heckeria.

755 The actual "cure" was performed as follows. The Ngi man beat the patient's head alternately with bundles of the Macaranga and Trema; then he washed the bullet wound with the medicine water and gave the patient a drink of the same water. Thereupon he mixed together red wood, bark shavings, and chicken's blood obtained by forcibly pulling the chicken's beak open; with this paste he drew a line around the sick man's chest, smeared his neck, and painted the bed posts. The next day the Ngi representative appeared once more with bones and sacred thorns, performed all kinds of dances, such as I have described in connection with the Ngi cult /Ed., not translated/, and in a singsong made a kind of exorcism speech similar to that of the Bokung man. In case a single attempt to cure is of no avail, it is repeated; in one village I heard the Ngi man roaring night after night in order to free a seriously ill person of his sufferings.

787 but even that seems to be dying out for its meaning is frequently
118 no longer understood. Thus I once (on an earlier occasion) found an open cooking pot set up as rain medicine; I simply could not understand this until I saw the authentic medicine and was informed that in the first case a mistake had been made.

821 According to one conception, the rainbow is the handiwork of a great sorcerer who wanted to show the others what he was capable of performing. Other natives think the rainbow is water vapor or ... smoke, and when it appears in the east, late in the afternoon, people say jokingly that one end is standing in the Campo and the other end in the Uelle. A third notion concerning the rainbow -- and this one is probably based on its iridescent colors -- is that it represents a water snake. The word for rainbow is, accordingly, nyĕ̄-ā III, from nyĕ̄, "water snake." In addition, there is nŏ̄ŋ̄m I, derived from the onomatopoetic expression ŋ̄mĕtŏ̄mĕtŏ̄m, a designation for a flickering in front of the eyes.

The Tale concerning the Origin of the Rainbow

821 Once upon a time the grandmother of Ekute Esamnĭmabŏge
539 said to her grandson: "Go and show me the place where your mother
773 always catches fish." Thereupon Ekute went along with her and showed her a good place along the river, but his grandmother said: "No, this was not the place." Then her grandson showed her another place, but here, too, the grandmother said: "This is not the place where I am going to fish." They went together this way to four other places, but at none did the grandmother want to fish. Finally, the grandson said: "There are no more places for fishing; after this there is only the large river left." The grandmother replied: "All right, that is where we shall go." But her grandson said: "Oh, the places where everybody fishes are here, but in the big river the fishing is poor." However, the grandmother answered: "But I want to take a look at the place; come along, we shall leave right away." Thereupon the grandson went along with her, and when they came to the spot where the river widened, the grandmother said: "Here is where I want to fish." The grandson

821 again advised her against this, but the grandmother refused to give
773 in, went into the water, and tried to drive the water away (1),
599
[224]

1. In smaller watercourses the water is removed by splashing it away; in larger rivers this is, of course impossible.

but in doing so she got in deeper and /200/ deeper until she was up to her neck in the water. Then she said to Ekute: "Bring me two sticks and lay them in the water so that I can stand on them." This Ekute did, and the grandmother removed the water and fished, and lo and behold, she soon had ten baskets full of fish. Then her grandson said: "Come, we have enough now, let's go home." But the grandmother said: "No, first I want to get all the fish out of the water; then I will surpass all people in fishing." Thus, she went on fishing, but then, all of a sudden, the water rose up to her neck and over her mouth, and finally she disappeared under the water. At that moment there arose out of the water a great snake (1), and when Ekute saw it, he seized his

1. In other words, the grandmother was a sorceress.

spear to kill it. Then the snake said: "Wait! I have something to say to you." Ekute, however, ran away into the village and called all the people, above all his father whom he already met on the way; the latter took spears and went with him to the river. When he saw the snake, he wanted to kill it with his spear. But the snake said: "Wait a moment, I have something to say." Then the snake commanded the people to make a basket and to carry it /the snake/ into the village. This was done, and when the snake had been brought into the village and had been assigned a house to sleep in, it said: "No, I want to sleep in the first house next to the meeting house." The people complied with this wish. Soon the rumor spread everywhere that a great snake was to be seen in the village, and many, many people came to see it. Everybody had to pay a lot of money for this, about as much as ten marks.

821 773 539 Thus Essamnilmabôge became very wealthy, and from this money alone he was able to purchase two wives.

Now it happened that he and all the people were gone one day, and only his son, Ekute, stayed behind. Then several people from a distant village appeared, but they had brought with them only two choppers (2), and in exchange for these they demanded

2. Bush knives valued at two marks.

to see the snake. Ekute, however, did not want to show it to them. The people argued with him and threatened, and they demanded to see the snake. Then Ekute, who was very imprudent, angrily took a chopper and knocked in the top of the house wall instead of carefully opening the door somewhat and letting the people look in. Thereupon the snake came out, went to the village square, and cried "See, now I am leaving." But the people and Ekute had run off. Thereupon the snake raised its head and body and swung itself into the air. At this very moment Ekute's father came back and was just able to cut off the lower end of the snake; the other part of the snake was already high up in the air and still stands in the sky today as the rainbow. The tail, however, turned into the python, and from the eggs there crept forth all the other little snakes. /201/

821 749 [754] The storm is likewise represented as the handiwork of an evil sorcerer. Whenever a great sorcerer is dying, he unleashes a storm, lays low the plantain fields of those people toward whom he feels ill will, destroys their houses, and indeed, he goes so far as to knock down their children in order to injure them. Anyone who has experienced a tropical tornado will understand the notion of the Pangwe that sorcerous beings are at work. The natives also have medicines against storms; the storm is gradually weakened if [824] one places young macabo leaves (these are weak to begin with) on the fire (whereby they become still weaker) and then grinds them to a powder on the ground in front of the house (this makes them weakest of all). Conversely, the storm is "made heavy" and thereby held back in the sky by placing a stone on Paspalum grass (obũ't), which, because of its toughness and strength, is supposed

789 to represent the storm. Thus the storm is pressed onto the ground,
821 as it were. If the storm is already approaching, they beat a plantain stalk to tatters on the ground of the village square, and as they do so, they exclaim:

[539] okŭ[š] a lŭde ma a lŭd: Okă[k] nkiă
Storm, it pass by me, by (pass), (to) Okak in the west.

3. Astronomy

821 Even for a primitive people the astronomical knowledge of
772 the Pangwe is very limited. This fact can be excused only in part by the unfavorable conditions of their country (rainy forest region).

The Pangwe have the same conception of the earth as that of the "ancients," that is to say, they think of it as flat like a plate and surrounded on all sides by the ocean. Over the earth and the ocean arches the sky which, as is stated in the creation story, originated as a part of the earth that was blasted off and raised up on high. In other words, the sky is thought of as firm and finitely bounded, just as is the earth. One should, accordingly, imagine a large bell jar placed over a gigantic plate in the center of which the earth floats in water, and this gives one the conception held by the Pangwe. As regards the earth, they naturally think only of Africa, that is, they conceive of it as one single continuous land mass.

The sky is infinitely high; the tallest mountains known to the Pangwe do not extend into it. One would have to set about 200 or more silk-cotton trees (Ceiba, on the average 70 meters tall) end on end in order to touch the sky.

821 The material of the sky is similar to that of the earth, and,
[823] like it, it is harder and firmer on the inside and softer, more fluid on the outside -- a train of thought engendered by the swamps and the softened loam soil. Just as the crust of the earth forms clods, so the outer surface of the sky forms "scales" (ebă[s] e dzŏb "scales of the sky," that is to say, clouds). The clouds, however, are

First half year (mbū́)

805 esĕ́b = farming season (summer), from December to May, consisting of:

1. vūē'n esĕ́b = great dry season (December to February);
2. šōgō, esĕ́b = short rainy season (March to May). /206/

Second half year (mbŭ́)

ojŭ́n = rainy season (winter) from June to November, consisting of:

1. vūē'n ojŭ́n = short dry season (June to August);
2. šōgō, ojŭ́n = great rainy season (September to November).

A division of the half years into months is unknown to the Pangwe; he only knows the time span of the individual month (ngō'n, "moon"), and he has great difficulty in understanding that about six to seven of his months correspond to the Whites' half year and about 12 to 13 of his months correspond to the Whites' year.

To divide the month into weeks is something that the Pangwe [177] has learned from the Whites and has wholeheartedly adopted on account of the four Sundays (sŏ'nŏ III). He himself has marked off the first one to two days after the new moon as days of leisure, as has already been mentioned. He also observes the first seven [841] days of the month as something special, since the menstrual flow of the women supposedly lasts for seven days, but these days do not constitute a special segment of the month designated by a name of its own (1). Nor is there any such time segment in the rest of

[539] 1. It is merely said, for instance:
avŏ́i' ngō'n a sŏ́ malū́ malắ or zăngbắ
Cold moon, it came days three or seven.

the month.

We have the same picture with the day as we do with the month. Here, too, only the beginning is sharply defined, while

Leader of the chorus:

539 Mĭ'nĭnga ya mot ebɔ̄'n, edɔ̌ a va
133 (A) woman and (a) man love affair (1), thereupon he had
836

1. ebɔ̄'n, "pubic region," hence, by extension, "love affair, relationship."

kĕ, a kĕ a bŭmo ba mĭ'nĭnga
gone (to her), he goes to sleep with (the) woman (on)

enɔ̌'n, a sā a nie kaa ngū edɔ̌
bed, he cohabits with her, no virility, thereupon (a)

mɔ̄t a va ke, a nga jiē'
man (that is, another) he had gone, he lived to sing (the)

dž̌ā: mĭ'nĭnga niĕne: o kĭnĭ
song (2): (The) woman she (speaks) thus (to me): you go

2. Poetic license, because the manner of recital is song; ordinarily it would be: Thereupon a man said the following.

a kāda nā: kaa bĕdĕ a sŏ', kaa
to say this (to the lover): Not again (to) come, not

bede a šū, a să dž̌ā mebŭ'n, alū'
again (to) come, one not complete sex act, night

a ngĕn ojă'b --ma nga tame
it was still long (lasting) (3) -- I live must (to)

3. That is, the lover would have had enough time to cohabit several times.

tǫ̀bǒ nale, adzǫ̀ a n'abě
remain thus, affair it is bad.

Chorus:

A ta ma vū or a na ma
Oh, my father, I am dying, Oh, my mother, I

vū.
am dying (4).

4. The Negro dies on every occasion when something unpleasant happens to him; the chorus thus speaks from the point of view of the woman who is in such despair concerning this "bad affair" that she would almost like to die.

Although there are no actual prostitutes, a number of the women enjoy the free life of a girl and up to the age of 30 or 35 years remain ngǭ'n, "girls." This kind of "girl," to whom every man, boy or adult, whatever his name, whether he is handsome or not, is equally /255/ welcome, is called a ñzīla. The fact that people have no better opinion of her than we have of a loose woman is shown by a song sung at a festival for the souls. In its own way this song represents a delightful satire and, for the Pangwe, an extraordinarily witty, poetic achievement. I have reproduced it in Section 20 ("Music") /Ed., not translated/.

In spite of the great sensuality, relations between the sexes do have finer traits; tactful behavior, precise observation of prescribed forms, and profound spiritual sensibility are not absent. The ingenuous conduct of the young man toward the girl's parents and the naturalness with which the young people enjoy their love, without obligations, without social prejudices, have something almost ideal about them.

584 If the young man has noticed a girl or has already come to an understanding with her, he goes to her parents, introduces himself first to the father, who usually shows his most amiable side and recommends the young man to his daughter. Even though the lover did not obtain the girl's agreement beforehand -- something which can be accomplished with a few words in a brief encounter -- he will nonetheless find little opposition. The relations with the "father-in-law" and above all with the "mother-in-law" are as cordial and tender as can be. The young man brings his "mother-in-law" a little present, European salt or other things that women [431] love, and he also endears himself to the father through little attentions or presents, while the parents or the girl herself entertain the guest to the best of their ability. A natural tact causes the Pangwe to avoid mentioning anything that touches upon his relations to the girl in his contact with her family. Indeed, his delicacy with respect to the "parents-in-law" grows into a false sense of shame:

wō'-oson a vū̄ mabā'de
[539] (The) feeling -- shame, it dies (from) frambesia

menkī̄ē'.
(of the) parents-in-law (relatives by marriage).

The sense of shame has caused a person to die from frambesia transmitted by the parents-in-law, that is, a suitor was afraid, from a sense of shame, to turn down the food offered him by the girl's father who was suffering from frambesia. He ate with the man from one bowl, caught the disease, and died.

584 836 To the girl herself the lover usually brings half a piece of material -- valued at one mark -- (among the Jaunde he brings a whole piece). In his courtship, the lover does not usually arrive at the desired goal right away, for it is customary for the girl, even if she grants the young man her affection and /256/ sleeps in the same bed with him, to refuse sexual intercourse with him during the first night. (See the tale on p. 132).

The reason for this custom lies in oson, the feeling of shame toward the talk of other people. The two parties know each other perfectly well as regards their lechery, but they pretend to be quite

831 If the latter resembles a rushing stream which tears away everything in its path, the love of the Blacks is like a still, deep lake, and it is certain that even in Africa the magic power of love often intimately joins two hearts and that there is genuine love which in every respect is comparable to the European conception. This point is well demonstrated by the "love tests" which the men sometimes apply in order to convince themselves of the love of a future wife, quite according to the pattern: "Drum prüfe, wer sich ewig bindet, ob sich das Herz zum Herzen findet" /Trans., "Therefore assay, before you bind yourself never to part, whether there's harmony 'twixt heart and heart," from Schiller, "Das Lied von der Glocke"/.

539 514 836 An example is presented by the following tale.

One day a young man went to see the girl that he loved and wanted to marry. At night, while he was sleeping in her house, he had /257/ to urinate, but since he did not know where the toilet was and since there was no man there whom he could ask, he said to himself: "Oh, what shall I do in my need? -- -- But let me see whether the girl really loves me!" He took a small cooking pot (obĕbē') and used it so that it was filled to the brim (lǫ̆dŏtǭ); then he covered it with leaves and placed it behind a bed. The next morning he set out on the way home, and the girl accompanied him until they were outside the village. On the way he said: "I am going now to my village, and I shall see

ng(e) oa dzĭn ma: obĕbē', ng(e) oa bĕne
if you love me: (the) little pot, if you hate (do not

ma: obĕbē',"
love) me: (the) little pot,

that is, the little pot will show whether you love me or not! The girl did not understand what he meant by this and asked him to explain. But he simply answered:

ŏ', kaa dzăm mfĕ,
Oh, no matter other (than that):

ng(e) oa dzĭ'n ma: obĕbē', ng(e) oa bĕne ma, obĕbē'.

539 514 836 When the girl went home she thought to herself: "I wonder what that means: ng(e) oa dzǐn ma: obébe, ng(e) oa bə̀ne ma: obébé!?" When she was in the house, she was still thinking about it; then she suddenly smelled the odor and found the little pot behind the bed. She took it, poured its contents into the plantain grove behind the house, and cleaned it thoroughly with water. Meanwhile her lover had secretly come back to the village and observed from a hiding place how the affair was developing, whether the girl would call other people and publicly expose him (1). But nothing /258/ of the kind happened. He then saw

539 514 836 558

1. In that case the lover would not have been able to hide from the mockery of his companions and would have become completely unacceptable in the village of his beloved. It should not be forgotten how terribly disgraceful a Negro finds such an occurrence, indeed, the very thought of a natural need to relieve himself. A person who has had, as we would say, an accident, as in the above case, will be socially unacceptable for a long time if the incident becomes known, while we "barbarians" with our trifling amount of oson look upon such an occurrence as a painful accident for the moment, but do not carry it any further and, moreover, regard the physiological evacuation of the body as something "natural." Unfortunate uncivilized civilized people! The savages are better people after all! They have a countless number of circumlocutions for the terrible deed: ma ke a npɔ̀[h] biǎ́n, "I am going to fetch a medicine"; a bɔ̌be ekūi di, "to inspect the spring trap"; a bɔ̌be ebə̀́ī, "to inspect the pitfall"; a tšǎ ndžā ǎ,

514 539

539 514

"to look for firewood"; ma ke ofe̱ I̱, "I am going into the bush," and so forth. Even today I have to smile when I think of an incident that happened at the beginning of my stay in Alén. One of my Fang boys, who accompanied me on the hunt and was near a thick, half-rotted tree stump, suddenly said, "ma ke tsă ndžā,ă (I am going to get some firewood)." Under the impression that he really wanted to cut off some firewood from the tree stump, I countered this, to me unintelligible, notion, half amazed, half mockingly, with the words, "ye oa bḛ̆le ovṳ̆n (but do you have an axe)?" It was only after a while that I understood why I was struck by such an annihilating look of moral disapproval. After this faux pas, I became more cautious and was soon sufficiently polished to be a highly civilized person in the Pangwe sense, who in strange villages no longer spoke of the eduk (toilet), but instead, as a well brought-up "Pange," merely asked:

114 514

nge ba tsĭ'dăn ma, ma yā'le vĕ'?

[539] If one drives (urges) me, I duck (hide) where?

or: zĕ'n e medžā e ne vĕ'?

Where is the way to the host (actually: head of the village)?

539 757 514

Further demonstrations of the Pangwe's feeling of shame with respect to natural requirements are the use of an enema syringe (which is directly connected with

514 [757] 539

the feces or anus) as a deterrent medicine for thefts from the field and the significant tale of the turtle and the woman. A turtle wants to force a girl against her will to become his wife, and after all kinds of vain attempts finally succeeds only by smearing the girl's bed and clothes one night with his own feces. Having done so, he lies down to sleep, and the next morning when the girl sees the mess, he threatens to tell in the village and all the world that she had befouled her bed. The turtle thus put the girl completely in his power and forced her to agree to the marriage.

539 836 514 the girl going into her mother's house, quickly stole after her through the plantain grove, and listened behind the house to what the girl might say; not by a single word did she mention the incident. He then went back with a joyful heart, and said to himself: "This girl truly loves me." After two days he returned, asked for her hand in marriage, and took her back to his village as his wife.

This tale gave rise to the popular saying: ng(e) oa dzi̍n ma, obe̍be̍, ng(e) oa be̍ne ma: obe̍be̍.

832 The great number of love medicines (bia n andu'man), which very graphically symbolize the fusion and embracing of the sexes (in a spiritual as well as a physical sense), has already been discussed in Volume II, page 30 .

848 836 Illegitimate children are quite rare. The child's father -- even when he is known -- has no claim upon the child, just as the girl has no claim upon the father. The child belongs to the girl's father and is regarded as a not altogether unwelcome addition, since when the girl marries, it considerably raises her purchase price. As long as the mother remains unmarried, her child stays in the house of her parents. When she marries, the child becomes /259/ a part of the marriage bargain, as it were, and is considered

583 sufficient time to get to know his future wife and her family.
584 He treats them with the greatest consideration, and for the mother-
606 in-law (ni e-ngɔ̌n III, that is, the girl's mother) especially he has an enormous amount of respect. He is courtesy itself, bringing her presents, large and small, and from time to time killing a chicken or a sheep for her. In short, one could in all seriousness speak of a mother-in-law cult (see the love feast, Vol. II, p. 24). And above all: oson, oson, oson: shame, shame, and more shame. The son-in-law is unspeakably ashamed before the mother-in-law, and vice versa, she before him. This is especially true after the wedding when the good mother-in-law extends her modesty also to the members of the son-in-law's kin group. Like a thief she steals behind the dwellings into her daughter's house in order not to be seen, and -- who knows? -- perhaps in order not to give rise to mother-in-law jokes.

Riddle:

● [539] [524]

ŋzɛ̌'n	e	bönsüe,	e	ne	kaangǎ	
Way	of the	lizards,	it	is (in the)	reeds	(Cyperus).

Solution:

ŋzɛ̌'n	e	bonǐ ɛ́ngɔ̄'n,	e	n'	a	
Way	of the	mother-in-law,	it	is	on (the)	stretch

fā́

behind the houses.

585 On the day when a man takes his young wife home, the village
535 celebrates with a sizable dance, for which all adorn themselves to
[302] the best of their ability and which the young wife, red from red wood dye, attends as guest of honor seated on a stool. On this occasion, the popping of blunderbusses may not be omitted, because it belongs to the festive music like our flourish of trumpets. The dancing and shooting last several days when a wealthy chief has acquired a new wife or if it is the first wife of a fellow villager. There is nothing strikingly special about any of this; the festivity simply involves a series of different /262/ dances (among which the dschama is particularly popular which are also customary on other occasions.

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
164 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
684 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible:

[539] a bɛ̌le, a bɛ̌le, a kɔ̌n abɛ̌ mavɔ̌k.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
831 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
461 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[834] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
[196] and bebɔ̌n, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171 1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

831
785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

785 Thus, the child becomes miăk. Its loincloth is taken off
831 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sö-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miăk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, espe-
[684] cially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by custom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miăk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

839 [824] In the case of members of the female sex, masturbation by means of a plantain fruit is widespread, something which is to be foreseen in view of the bad situations arising from polygyny. A proverb states:

[539] o kūe ma zā (sā[k]) ebôn onū́,
you find me satisfying vagina (with the) finger (1)

1. Probably a circumlocution since one did not want to mention the real object. Moreover, in coastal English the clusters of fruit growing alternately in a "plantain bunch," are called a "plantain hand," and the individual fruits making up the hand are called "fingers."

[196]

oa bɛ̄́le nkŭn,
you have (the) penis,

and this is used whenever someone does not part with something of which he has a superabundance, even when he sees that another person is short of it and makes shift with a poor substitute.

838 We have spoken above of homosexual relations among "children." In adults such conduct is regarded as something immoral and unnatural, simply as unheard of. In reality, however, it is frequently "heard of" that young people carry on homosexual relations with each other and even of older people who take boys -- who, as is well known, "have neither understanding nor shame" -- and readily console them by saying: "bia bŏ pfiắŋga (we are having fun, playing a game, joking)." The children are excused with the well-known assertion, which in its deeper sense can rarely be defended: bŏ ne bɔ̄́ŋgo = they are ignorant, that is, they know not what they do. Adults are excused with the corresponding assertion: a bɛ̄́le nnɛ́m e bɔ̄́ŋgo = he has (the) heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys, which is, of course, by no means flattering to them.

Publicly, of course, homosexuals are treated with the greatest contempt, and they were therefore forced, as a matter of course,

838 to cast about for a protective covering to shield themselves from the attacks of those who are different, just as the hedgehog is protected by its covering of quills -- a covering on which the attackers would cut their mouths and their caustic tongues. Such a covering was supplied by medicine -- it is said that homosexual intercourse is a "wealth medicine" (biǎ̀n nkū'ma); see Volume II, page 23. This is the name applied to it in the following tale which was told to me.

There once was a man called bongo-be-ntuu-dumo (= boys -- 838 which?) who had a daughter called akukebedanga who was very 539 beautiful (the name allegedly came from akúk = Achatina marginata [551] Sw. var. nigrofasciata Thiele, which is very beautiful, and from [825] adǎ̀n = to surpass, because she was as unsurpassably beautiful as the Achatina snail; thus, if I understand it correctly, the name means "Achatina snail of unsurpassable beauty"). /272/

Now it happened one day that four young people met on the way to the village of Bongo (I shall thus abbreviate his name). They were all on their way to see the girl. They asked each other: "Whom are you going to see?" and each of them said: "Akukebedanga!" Then they conferred and agreed that they would go into the village together and wait to see whom the girl would love the most. The young people, who came from various families, were called (I place the abbreviation first):

Schok I, or by his full name he was called ž́[k] bǒ žūa (explanation?);

Schok II, called ž̌ [k] bǒ ngōne makɛ̌ makǒ, (ekɛ̌kǒ), that is, Schok, bōngōne (unknown) I am going away to come back later (= I shall be gone for some time);

Schok III, ž [k], bǒ kǎ jɛ̌m bǒdžǒ melǎ̀n (1),
Schok -- of not knowing speeches bad,

1. Instead of: belǎ̀n.

that is, the Schok who speaks no evil, and

Schok IV, ž́ [k] bǒ nǔ́m e kūb b'ogbwā'le ba
Schok of: cock and francolin they
jɛ̌m e ki'di ma lɛ̌ne.
know the mornings they begin.

838
539 The four suitors, then, came into the village where they introduced themselves to the girl's father, Bongo. The latter said: "Oh, why is it that four men are coming all at once -- there is after all only one girl! But let's see what we can do!" Then he led them into the house where they found the girl's mother. The latter likewise said: "Oh, -- four men! I know that hitherto this or that suitor has come, and if the girl loved him she slept with him, and if she did not love him he went back home! But now -- four men all at once!?" Thereupon the young men said: "Let us see whom the girl loves." Now the girl loved Schok IV, but the mother loved Schok III, while the girl's brother loved Schok II, and the father loved Schok I. When night fell, the strangers were led into the girl's house. She slept with Schok IV, and the others slept on the other beds. Now when Schok IV wanted to embrace the girl, one of the others shouted: "Oh, how lecherous this girl is; the very first night she gives herself to her lover!" Then the girl said to Schok IV: "Oh, how this person talks, desist, let's wait for another night!" When the others were sleeping, Schok IV asked the girl very softly: "Don't you want to marry me?" The girl consented to marry him, and they decided that they would both flee the next day (that is, in Pangwe, that the lover was to "kidnap" the girl); if someone /273/ were to see them, they would say they were going to bathe. Thus the next day Schok IV pretended to go bathing, and the girl followed him unnoticed. Both then went to the village of Schok IV.

When on the afternoon of the same day, both of them had not returned and it was evident that Schok IV had kidnapped the girl, Schok III went to the mother, who, as we saw, was fond of him, and reproached her most violently for the fact that the girl had fled. The mother replied: "Well, why am I to blame; I'm not in the girl's skin." Thereupon Schok III became furious, took a bush knife, struck at the woman, and killed her on the spot. Then he went home.

Schok I, who loved the father, turned to the latter, likewise reproached him strongly, and asked him how the girl had come to run away. In answer to this, the father said: "Oh, how am I to blame; if I were the girl I would not have acted so (Bongo's

838 feminine role seems to be hinted at with these words), but I am not in the girl's skin either, after all!" However, Schok I was not 539 satisfied with this explanation. Thereupon the father went to the village of Schok IV, who had abducted his daughter, and demanded bride price from him. Schok IV accordingly paid this price. Bongo went back home with it and said to Schok I: "Here is all the money for the girl; I am paying you with it!" But Schok I said to him: "No, I don't want the money!" Thereupon the father took one of his wives and the money and wanted to offer all this to Schok I as compensation. But still Schok would have none of it. He said: "No, I don't want it -- rather (and this will be the compensation) we shall both always be together; when you urinate, I shall also urinate; when you defecate, I shall also defecate, when you sleep, I shall also sleep with you on the same bed (1)!"

1. The great declaration of love of the Pangwe corresponding to our: "Wherever you go, there I will go too!"

So, in fact, it turned out, and the two slept together. Finally, however, both contracted frambesia and died of it.

The last Schok, Schok II, who loved the brother, did the same thing with the latter as Schok I did with Bongo. As a substitute for the girl, he stayed with the brother, and the two slept together. But they, too, became sick, of leprosy, and died.

In this tale it is particularly striking that the sexually normal and abnormal have different fates. The normal Schok III gets away unpunished, even though he kills the wife of his host, who was to become his mother-in-law. The homosexuals Schok I and II receive a terrible punishment in the form of leprosy and frambesia for their intercourse.

838 As we already know and as we have seen again here, the [684] punishment for homosexual intercourse is usually leprosy, meted out by Ngi (or /274/ other cult spirits) as the guardian of purity. This is also the punishment for other immoral crimes, such as sexual intercourse during the day, and so forth.

551 There are very few names that are used for boys as well as for girls. I am acquainted only with Mfumu and Mangöö, both of which, incidentally, were used more often for girls than for boys.

Nicknames are common. The Negroes, who are always in-
[522] clined to jokes and teasing, delight in making fun of the weaknesses of their fellows and constantly heckling them. A peculiar characteristic or a comical incident produces the nickname, and the latter is retained without anyone later ever knowing its original meaning. "Famous" people frequently have a whole
551 539 series of nicknames, like the chief's son Amwön-Ekang, whose names are immortalized in the following jocular song:

amvŏn-ekăn -- anduman ekăn ana -- sösŏ'
Amwön-Ekang -- son (of) Ekang now -- sapsucker (on)

nkūm -- ewăs nŭm e kŭn -- a kike
tree stump -- file -- man (in) salt water -- chop off

melŏ' me zŏn -- ažŏ'n a wūmūk, ndzŏm a
(the) heads of the fern -- Solanum (1) it forms, pluck he

1. Solanum esculentum Don.

tĕlĕk -- mekū(n) medžă, nnié a mbĕt
stands (ready) -- caterpillars to eat, mother has climbers

asŏn kă bekăi, abŏm kă medzi,
-- Musanga no guy ropes, Macrolobium (2) no buttress roots

2. Macrolobium straussianum Harms.

-- mone ngōn eja (bondănga madžă).
-- son (of a) girl of Eja (Bondanga Madscha = chief of the Eja).

Amwön-Ekang, the son of Ekang, as everybody knows, --
(the following are jocular names) sapsucker on a tree stump

551 (something small, delicate on something gigantic, strong) -- file
539 (something that destroys something else) -- man in salt water (unclear, perhaps corresponding to our "cart that is stuck in the mud"). -- One chops off the young leaf tips of the fern (since this is the food of women, it is unsuitable for a man). -- The Solanum puts forth fruit, and the harvester stands ready (sense clear). -- The caterpillars that sit on the trees are ripe for eating, and the mother has a climber who gets them down (this refers to Amwön himself). -- The Musanga has no guy ropes (lianas, and so forth), the Macrolobium no buttress roots. -- Son of one born an Eja.

551 As one can see, the jocular names, like the drum names (chiefly in the south), are largely taken from a kind of proverbial speech /285/ that alludes to a peculiarity of the bearer; the peculiarity was no longer known in the foregoing case.

Of course, the Whites also have their nicknames; indeed, they are known almost exclusively by these since the natives usually do not know the European names or cannot pronounce them.

To the name given by the father, the father's own name is added. If, for instance, the father is called Essun and the son is called Boka, the complete name of Boka is Boka-Essun, that is, Boka, son of Essun, or -- with a genitive particle -- Boka Bossun(e); if Boka's son is called Ayong, his complete name is Ayong-Boka, etc. (1).

[113]

1. Von Stein (Mitteilungen aus den Schutzgebieten /Reports from the German Protectorates/, Vol. 12, p. 137) says of the Bane (= Bene): "Almost all names are double names, and in sharp contrast to the custom of the Bakoko /Koko/ (should probably read: Bassá), the name occupying the second place almost always signifies the mother's name. Only in very exceptional cases does the Bane, if he has an especially famous father, add the baptismal name, if I may use the term, of his father's name. Balingekorre thus

means: Balinge, son of Ekore."

551 [113] The custom of the Bane of adding the mother's name to one's own, as reported here, is found also among the Jaunde according to Zenker (Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. 8, p. 50).

Family names in our sense are unknown to the Pangwe. Towards strangers they use the name of the kin group, which is after all to be understood as a "family" in the Pangwe sense; to this, at the same time, is added the name of the mother's familial group. My faithful factotum, Ayong, who has already been presented to the reader in the picture on Plate 3 /Ed., Vol. I/, would, for instance, introduce himself as follows:

ma ne ayŏn-bokă, mōne esăwŏ'n,
I am Ajong-Boka, child (of the family) Essauong,

[539] mone ngō'n esatŏp.
child (of a) girl (of the) Essatop.

551 867 To learn this complete name by heart is the child's first task. Once the child can recite it without a mistake, the father, proud of the cleverness of his offspring, proceeds to the further task of acquainting the little one with the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather (naturally on the father's side). Let us again take an example.

The child is called Ndungo, his father Essun, from the Abai family, in other words: ndūngo-esū'n, mōne abai, etc.; Ndungo of Essun from the Abai family. -- "But from whom am I, Essun, descended?" asks the father. "esū'n-nzĕma, that is, Essun from Nsema," is the answer. "And from whom is Nsema descended = nzĕma nza?" "nzĕma-ngĕĕ." -- The child learns it all very [181] quickly, because as regards its ability to grasp things /286/, the Negro child is far superior to white children. -- The Pangwe, however, does not stop with the grandfather. Each of these black gentlemen has all his ancestors in his head, just like our feudal lords. To be sure, none of them knows more about them than

551 their names. Our Ndungo was able to enumerate eleven ancestors,
• 967 his father Essun, then Nsema, Ngää, Massoo, Obute, Akiege, Asangui, Awodo, Tulo, Nssim, Okudu.

Generally speaking, the Pangwe probably know on the average eight or ten ancestors by name; not infrequently one even hears 10, or 12, and 14 represented the maximum.

Frequently a lengthy cognomen is added to the last ancestor, which gives the whole a magnificent final effect, somewhat in the way that among us the descendants of a famous man trace their genealogical tree back to him: "I am descended from that person, and his father was called so-and-so, and his father in turn was so-and-so, the famous general who in such-and-such a war won such-and-such a victory." Thus the ancestral table of an Esseng man by the name of Abŏschoo went as follows: Ogbue, Ngumbaschoo, Edu, Ngumu, Bokoo, Motoo, Ossele, Akuschoo Bebe -- ayĕm esĕb ya andŭm = the Akuschoo Bebe, who knew when the dry season comes and when it rains (explanation of the latter part uncertain).

551 A jocular poem in which a boy poses questions while another
● 539 answers enumerates no fewer than 21 ancestors:
211

"o mbe lŭk e vĕ?" -- "a jŭm." "oa
You were driving fish where? -- In the Sannaga. You

vüi dzĕ?" -- "nwŏs."
killed what? -- (A) shrimp.

"za a dzĭ?"
Who it eat? (Who will eat it?) -- "Abele."

"Abele sa?" (= from whom is Abele descended). "Abele-Boka" (Abele is the son of Boka). "Boka bo sa?" "Boka bo Ssissi." "Ssissi sa?" "Ssissi Mening." "Mening sa?" "Mening me Koebe." "Koebe sa?" "Koebe Kum." "Kum sa?" "Kum Otsaa." "Otsaa sa?" "Otsaa Maniodo." "Maniodo sa?" "Maniodo Ssamwinne." "Ssamwinne sa?" "Ssamwinne a Ssongo." "Ssongo sa?" "Ssongo Abui." "Abui sa?" "Abui

551 Nkumu." "Nkumu sa?" Nkumu Bawu." Bawu sa?" "Bawu Otoo."
539 "Otoo sa?" "Otoo Kuboo." "Kuboo sa?" "Kuboo Emwi."
211 "Emwi sa?" "Emwi Abungo." "Abungo sa?" "Abungo a Schiele."
"Schiele sa?" "Schiele Maa." "Maa sa?" "Maa Makama."
"Makama sa?" Makama

me nga būge nana abō:
who lived to break (of the) mother the leg,
tsǎ̄s
tsass (onomatopoetic).

551 578 A remnant of the old aversion of all primitive peoples to mention names, because thereby some kind of mischief might result, can still be observed among the Pangwe. /287/ They do not like to utter their names before strangers, and they find a question about their full names (in other words, including that of the father) tactless, indeed, almost insulting, as I frequently noticed among the Fang who had not had any contact with outsiders. It is also an insult in every respect to remind someone of his ancestors. This need not even be done by name -- since, after all, they do not always know the names -- but can be done with just the words: I shall "show" you your ancestors. This is taken as a threat of sorcery, that is, secret murder, and as though one were telling his enemy in advance that he would kill him and transport him to his ancestors. Such an insult is often avenged with the sword.

2. Child Rearing

861 The child is reared by means of precept and example, rarely by threats, and almost never -- at least only in case of major offenses against morality, such as theft, for instance -- by means of corporal punishment. The result must be termed an extremely good one; Pangwe children behave more tactfully and better than our children of the same age.

867 861 We are informed by some "experts on the Negro's soul" that the Blacks have no sense of honor. A glance at their family life, however, teaches us the opposite. In rearing the child, the

861 593 626 578 the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

ma tɛ̄'i matɛ̄'i[1] ma kǎbe ma,
[539] I have imposed curse (1) (?), I disengage myself (from

1. matɛ̄'i = the imposed curse, a va matɛ̄'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tɛ̄'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otǐtɛ̄i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

ma nīme ma, -- osūɛ
it), I make straight myself -- (into the) water

nkīāi; Chorus: mān.
down. Chorus: Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

[201] At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indicate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putting back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the procedure among the Jaunde -- [824] a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

519 595 Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

524 Panicum sulcatum Aubl. (ekɔ̄k) are placed on top of each other;
857 the apex half of two of the leaves, the upper and lower, is re-
[824] moved. Then the little magician places the leaves with their underside on the ground and starts to roll them together from the lower end to the tip. A conjuring verse which the artist now sings induces the leaf to wander off: "kŭ̱dŭ ekắn, kūdŭ a zăn,
[539] o ke o mvūs = remove yourself, grass (1), remove yourself from

1. Collective term; specifically, Eleusine indica (L.) Gärtn.

the middle and go to the back!" Finally he hands the leaves over to a spectator to unroll, and it now turns out that the two shorter leaves are lying on top of each other and that the large leaf is at the bottom. This little conjuring trick, by the way, can also be performed with paper strips, one of which is a little longer than the others.

The ne plus ultra of what skilled Pangwe boys are able to offer consists of conjuring tricks in which speed constitutes the magic. I shall give a few samples of these tricks.

For example, a boy has a streak of ashes put on his forehead and his hands tied behind his back. One of the tricks is to run behind the house and to reappear with his hands tied behind his back but without the streak of ashes on his forehead. Of course the dexterous boy has put his tied hands through his legs from behind, wiped off the streak, and placed his hands behind his back again. The main thing in this case is the speed, which is indeed astonishing.

A second little trick is that of tying the hands together. The boy has somebody give him a rope, runs with it behind the house, and returns immediately -- with his hands tied behind his back. He had made two loops at the ends, stuck a hand in each, and then by skillfully turning both hands in opposite directions had twisted the rope in such a way as to make one believe that he had really been tied up by somebody else.

A favorite act of our conjurers has its counterpart among the Pangwe in their trick of spiriting away a ring from a hollowed

524 153 [825] [821] As we know, the Sso antelope is the animal of the moon, while the moon is mistress of the seasons and thus of rain; if one blows on the horn, the rain, which according to the Pangwe produces thunder, will answer.

Once the twelfth group of sentences is finished, all previously 524 recited groups of sentences must be recited backwards.

153 539 Sentence 1: nǔm okbŭ́n a ke a
Man of the dwarf antelope, he goes to

dž̌ǎ́ngan a nkō[k] etě
fall in love in the lying trunk inside,

b(a) asǎngṓn-ogbwō.
with Assangon-Ogbwo.

The dwarf antelope man goes inside the prone tree trunk (which is hollow, so that the little antelope can use it as a hiding place) to fall in love with Assangon-Ogbuo, literally, the eldest daughter of the magician.

Sentence 2:

ngbūḗne ogbŭ́n a ke a
Offspring of dwarf antelope, it goes to
bě nǔ́m okbŭ́n.
follow man antelope. /308/

Sentence 3:

ngā́-ogbŭ́n a ke a
Wife of dwarf antelope, she goes to

be ngbūḗne ogbŭ́n.
follow (the) little antelope.

Sentence 4: agbŭ́n abai (two antelopes) d'a ke a be nga agbŭ́n.

Sentence 5: agbŭ́n ala (three antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbŭ́n abai (two).

Sentence 6: agbŭ́n ani (four antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbŭ́n ala (three).

Sentence 7: agbŭ́n atan (five antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbŭ́n ani (four).

Sentence 8: agbŭ́n asiēmen (six antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbŭ́n atan (five).

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Sentence 9: agbŭ́ń zāngbwā′ (seven antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbŭ́ń asiē′men (six).

Sentence 10: agbŭ́ń mūóm (eight antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbŭ́ń zāngbwā′ (seven).

Sentence 11. agbŭ́ń ebū, (nine antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbŭ́ń mūóm (eight).

Sentence 12. agbŭ́ń avŭ́m (ten antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbŭ́ń ebū, (nine).

[832]

Young lovers like to play the game with their girls, as may be surmised from the somewhat romantic text. Jokingly, the girl says that she will give herself only to the one who can go through the entire game without making a mistake.

The Memory Game (nkŭ́k ondūle or endě́le)

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This game is known only among the Fang and a number of adjoining Ntum kin groups, and it is supposedly indigenous. A flat staff with short, paired transverse extensions and vertically inserted knobs is used in the game. The end of the staff usually has a head carved on it (Fig. 113). Each pair of transverse extensions, along with the knob and the adjacent lower part of the staff, forms a segment on which eleven different points are designated for the answers (see Fig. 114).

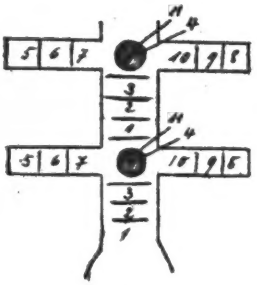
The game may have developed from an older, simpler one in which the individual parts of the human body were enumerated. This notion is suggested by the designation of the staff as the body, of the carved end -- even when it is not a regular head -- as neck and head, by the tripartite arrangement of the transverse extensions -- absent in Figure 113 -- (corresponding to the upper arm, the

[822]
[831]

Fig. 112. Stick with Pieces of Raffia used as Mnemonic Device in the Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope. About one-fourth actual size.

Memory Game, nkuk-ondüle, made of Wood, Southern Ntum Region. A little over one-fifth actual size.

Fig. 113



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153
211

Fig. 114
Two Sections of the Memory Game nkuk-ondüle.

lower arm, and the hand), and finally by the upright knob, called tsăngetsắngə (the red one; red as the color of reproduction, of life), by which originally the male sex organ was doubtless understood. The implement is thus unquestionably supposed to represent a human body whose members are multiplied. [822] [831]

The game is played by two people, one questioning, the other answering. The former, seated in the circle of listeners, holds the implement in his hand and indicates the various points that /309/ must be answered. At each one he calls out: "zĕ zĕ?=- What is that?" (phonetically assimilated and corrupted from dzĕ dzé). The principal player sits farther away and answers the questions in rhythmic song while the others stamp their feet or clap their hands in time. He is, of course, not allowed to make any marks to aid his memory, such as dividing a little stick into the corresponding number of sections. This is brainwork. [533]

524 153

The 11 questions, which are the same for each segment, go as follows: 153

1, 2, 3. (see the corresponding numbers in Fig. 114) 524

nkúk ondüle wō'le. 539

Body (of the) ondüle here. That is the body of the ondüle.

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539

4. tsǎngetsǎ'nge nie a tele ni(l) i, a mō,mendöge.
Red one, he, he stands here, o Momendöge!
There stands the red one, oh Momendöge (inventor of the game)!

5. mekǐe me ntǎm e nieli.
Breaking of the twig, it (is) here

6. mejidan me ntǎm e nieli.
Sawing off of the twig, it (is) here.

7. bi a ke a buman (or a siĕen) a
We, we go to meet each other at the
mbuman a nzĕn, a tade mō,mendöge.
meeting point of the road, oh father Momendöge
(that is, perhaps, joint of the femur).

8. kŭ,lŭ a bū̆ma.
Go away to Buma (supposedly an Essamongun village).

9. ye ma ke a bū̆ma.
(Interrogative:) I go to Buma? = Am I going to Buma by any chance?

10. = 7.

11. = 4.

When all the segments -- usually from eight to 10 -- have been answered from bottom to top, the questioner points to the neck piece:

zĕ zĕ = What is that? /310/

Answer: kǐ'ń ondū̆'le e nieli
Neck (of the) ondüle it here,

and then he points to the head piece:

zĕ zĕ = What is that?
Answer: nnŏ' ondū̆'le a wŏ'le.
Head (of the) ondüle it here.

The main thing for the player, therefore, is always to remember how many segments he has answered, so that at the end he does not make a mistake and, instead of answering the two questions concerning neck and head, begins a new segment.

524 Thus, each player must take care that his opponent does not get into a weak compartment with his last stone or, in cases not to be avoided, that the preceding compartment is strong.

On the average, the Pangwe do not play the stone game par-
524 ticularly well, but there are individuals -- even women -- who
539 have developed their playing skill to a veritable mastery. In par-
578 ticular, a number of Bulu are famous as eminent adepts in this field in the Ntum territory, and a number of jocular stories that are as widespread as their fame have been coined about them. The majority of these stories are attributed to the "champion" of the Pangwe players, Bekena a Mpfa, the son of Mpfa Mangöö. Sometimes these stories are recited during the game by the more skilled player in an extraordinarily rapid, even tone, perhaps with the intention of distracting and confusing the less assured opponent. As regards their content, these stories pour the most vitriolic scorn upon less skilled players.

Satiric Song of the Ntum

ma	ma	nga lǒ	bekǒ'na,	bekǒ'na	a	mpfǎ,	ndǔman
I,	I	played (with)	Bekŏna,	Bekŏna	of	Mpfa,	son
a	mpfǎ-mangöö.	/313/	nǔm	kaa	masǔn	niene:	ma
of	Mpfa-Mangöö.		Man	without	teeth,	he says:	I

ke	ma	dzǐ	bekŏb	be	zǒk;	mī'nǐnga	kaa
go	to	eat	hides	of	elephants;	woman	without

makǎ'n	niene:	ma	tŏbŏ	o	kpǎ;	ukūkute
behind,	she says:	I	sit down	on	stool;	crazy

dzǔm	a	nga	wūǎ	sŏ'	a	bǐm,
thing,	it	lets	pass (a)	Sso antelope	on	hunting drive,

a	lige	isia	a kǒn	bekǒ'na	a	mpfǎ,	ndǔ'man
it	leaves	his father	sick	Bekŏna	of	Mpfa,	son

524 539 518

a mpfǎ, ndɯ̀man a mpfǎ mangöö, niene: ê̂,
of Mpfa, son of Mpfa-Mangöö, he says: Come now,

bōte, mi adǎń a kɵ̀bo (or a ngŏngŏ);
people, you surpass to speak

ye taɑa a nga kŏn bekŏ̀na, niene:
Interrogative: father, he is sick (of) Beköna, he thus:

a dži̇̌ sɔ̌́ kŏ ma nga vui taɑa
to eat Sso antelope?; but I killed (for the) father (a)

ogbŭ̀n a bĭm o ngūɛ̄, taɑa a
dwarf antelope on hunting drive yesterday, father he

tame dźī ogbŭ̀n.
must eat dwarf antelope.

Freely translated: I was once playing the stone game with Beköna, the well-known Beköna-Mpfa who is the son of Mpfa-Mangöö. He said: "You really resemble an old man who has no teeth and wants to eat elephant's hide (1), or a woman who has no

[262]

1. The notoriously thick and tough elephant's hide is actually eaten by some people (with teeth!), after being well boiled.

backside and sits down on the hard wooden stool, and thirdly you resemble the stupid noodle who on the hunting drive lets a Sso antelope (2) pass by and knows his father to be sick at home, infirm

[825]

2. The black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus dorsalis Gray.

from the disease that came from Beköna-Mpfa, the son of Mpfa-Mangöö." Well, in that case one simply says: "Come now, you people, you're talking altogether too much poppycock! Even if

524 my father is suffering from the Bekŏna disease, does he absolutely
539 have to eat Sso antelope meat? After all, yesterday on the hunting
578 drive I shot a dwarf antelope for my father; let my father first eat the dwarf antelope!"

Satiric song of the Fang (beginning as above)

...mī'nĭnga kaa makă'n, niene: ma bŏde
...Woman no backside, she says: I wear

azŏ́ń ukūkute dzŭm, oa lige isūa akŏn e
raffia apron; crazy thing, you leave your father sick with

bekŏ́; wōna: oa ke a wūa ngŏ' akŭn.
boils; you say: you go to place stones in the game.

...You resemble a woman who has no backside and wants to wear a raffia apron (the large horsetail-like raffia apron is not suitable for /314/ such a woman). And in addition, you stupid fool, your father is lying at home sick with boils!" In that case one would say (1): "Just place your stones, we shall see!"

1. The translation of wōna by "one" is justified because wōna is in a sense directed at the listener.

Satiric Song of the Ntum

o lŏ́ za? o lŏ́ fĕ́ za?
You play (with) whom? You play more (with) whom?

bŏ́ lŏ́. bŏ́ lŏ́! ngắ nzŏ'la: mī'nĭnga
People play, people play! Madame Nsöla (said): Woman

kaa mebĭ'n niene: o vŭ́ ma mvô̌t anĕ
without calves, she says: you put me brass wire (about) as

bo nga vŭ́ ntsămа-obiắń.
they put (about) Ntsama-Obiang.

524
539 Freely translated: With whom are you playing? With whom are you actually playing now? -- Yes, indeed, people are not equal; some play well, others badly, and Madame Nsöla says: "This is queer, a woman who has no calves and wants to have brass rings put around (her calves), just like the beautiful Ntsama-Obiang! (who of course has calves)."

The first story requires some explanation, since it is, as one of my people expressed very nicely in pidgin English, dear for saby (expensive to know, understand) = hard to understand. First of all, we must observe that the master player Beköne is what is known as eki, akŭn, that is (according to the standards set by abstinence rules, beki), it is not good for the ordinary mortal to play with Beköna, since in case of defeat, a kŏn bekŏna = one becomes Beköna-sick, just as in the case of an offense against the cult laws, one contracts a cult sickness.

The beginning is readily intelligible. A good average player (who can perhaps defeat moderately good players, but not Beköna) comes to the master who compares him with the old man without teeth and the woman without a backside, both of whom want to undertake something of which they are not capable, just like the player who wants to compete with Beköna. But finally Beköna compares him with an imprudent hunter who lets a Sso antelope (which is of medium size) pass by in the hope of killing something better (that is, a larger wild animal), even though his father is lying sick (of Beköna) at home and therefore would like something to eat, special namely, meat.

Applied to the player, this means: You want to compete with me, Beköna, and do not let players not as good, whom you could defeat, play with you (in the comparison, the Sso antelope which the hunter lets pass by) in the vain hope of defeating me, Beköna (in the comparison, the larger game), even though your father has already been defeated by me -- for only in this way can /315/ he become Beköna-sick -- and would gladly see his son avenge him by defeating another player.

The other one replies: Even if my father has been defeated by the master player (= is Beköna-sick), must he therefore see that I

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sso antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abĭa, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 177 184 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogenianga kin group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

525 The game of chance is played with small circular playing disks (să; plural, besă, derived from esá "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mvi$\breve{ɔ}$′ I), [831] [824] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abăm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text./ /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dŏ abĭa), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

779 884 411 principal weapon and because there are very few Fan who do not possess one. Actually, the word for "rifle" in the consecration song mentioned below is sometimes nzali, which really means "gun," and sometimes mbɛ̃ne, which denotes the "crossbow." The crossbow used to be the Fan national weapon. One of the words has changed, but the song is no less ancient for that.

In the middle of the village, the young man, accompanied by an older friend, places his rifle so that the first rays of the rising sun will strike it; he arranges around the rifle his totemic fetishes, that is, his childhood totem, which he will hereafter abandon, and his new warrior totem. In order to cast a spell [533] on his rifle, he then performs the necessary incantations, among them a hymn or invocation to the sun, of such real beauty and poetic quality that it should be quoted here.

[533]

●539

Hymn to the Sun

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

To you, sun, king of the sky, divine hunter,
Sun, to you this homage!

Before your flashing glance
And the swift arrows of your fiery quiver,
Into somber depths
Fearful night sinks aghast,
Beneath your blows sparkling with light.
You tear night's mantle,
A black cloak trimmed with fire,
Sprinkled with bright stars,
You tear night's black mantle.

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

779 884 411 533 When the required offerings have been made, before the rifle is lifted, the actual consecration takes place. The tune and words seem to me sufficiently remarkable to warrant quotation. This song, in its melody and structure, recalls the antique airs which have come down to us from the Greeks and Romans. It is always sung by several voices:

●539

Song of the Rifle

Anthem: Oh, all of you, listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Chorus: Oh, let us all listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Solo: For you, alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Far into the woods,
Far, far have I tramped long in the forest,
No longer hearing the barking dogs,
No longer hearing them,
No more than the noise-loving cocks,
No more than the cocks,
Leaving behind the chattering women,
Leaving them in their dark huts. [534]
Refrain: Yes, for you alone, O my rifle!
For your sake only, into the woods,
Into the woods have I gone,
O my rifle, for you alone.
Anthem: All of you, come, listen to the song of the fetish,
The beloved song of the fetish!
Chorus: Let us all come, listen to the song of the rifle,
The beloved song of the rifle! (Refrain: Yes,
for you alone . . .)
Anthem: Come all of you, come, listen well and without noise,
Listen!
Chorus: And silently, heedfully, let us listen.
Solo: For you alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Deep in the woods,
Leaving the village behind,

●539

I took the men's large knife
With no one seeing me
The knife that hangs from a post hook,
I took the knife,
Fastened it at my side,
Hung it from my baldrick,
With no one seeing me.
I went into the woods,
O my rifle, for you alone.

Anthem: All of you, come, listen to the song of the fetish,
The beloved song of the rifle!

Chorus: Let us all come and listen,
He has taken the knife,
Without anyone seeing him.

Solo: For you alone, O rifle! for you alone,
On the paths of the hunt,
I've wounded my foot on the path,
I've climbed mountains, hills,
I've crossed the streams,
Struggling through a day, a whole day,
I've sought the ɛ̌sǒn̂,
The ɛ̌sǒn̂, evin, and vyo;
Then, laying bare their flesh,
Taken away their clothing,
Their bloody garments.
There the spirit of the forest dwells.

Anthem: Come, all of you, let us mix the ɛ̌sǒn̂, the evin, and vyo,
Let us put a spell on the rifle.

Chorus: Let us all come and mix the ɛ̌sǒn̂, the evin, and the vyo.
And put a spell on the rifle,
Stripping bare their flesh,
Stealing their clothes,
Their bloody garments,
So as to clothe this weapon.
Let us put a spell on the rifle. [535]

● 539

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last.
And in common accord,
Your breath that does not die reunites them all,
Your breath reunites them without ever wearying.

It makes an unending whole,
And future children, offspring of our race,
Will also be your children, O father!
As I today am your child.

The éfirfira grows and continues to grow.
New branches start from its gnarled trunk,
One after another,
They grow, yet remain always the éfirfira.

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last. [539]

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A gelded goat or often a gelded dog is then brought to the wooden altar; it is immolated, and the blood is collected in a clay pot. The chief dips a green palm branch in the blood and then puts it on the altar in such a way as to cover both the totems and the ancestral skulls.

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After this first "recognition" comes a second, which consists of a song called "Song of the Visit." The chief sings it, and all the participants repeat the refrain. Thus the Yendun tribe, for instance, the refrain is:

[539]

Bi'ne biboñe bi Ndun,
Bi'ne fogo bisésé biboñe bi Ndun
Ndun a ne Esa bie,
Ndun ve Esa bie bisé.

We are the children of Ndun,
Yes, we are all the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our father,
Yes, Ndun is the father of us all.

779
622 At the same time, the chief has taken his father's and his first forefather's skulls; he approaches successively the évora biéri of each of the other heads of family and touches their ancestral skulls against those in his hands. He returns to the middle, takes the pot holding the victim's blood, dips his father's de, fly swatter, or into it, and then sprinkles the totems placed near the skulls. He takes his own totem, moves it alongside the clan or tribal totems, fastens them together with a liana and touches them successively against the totems of the other heads of family, while singing the totem song, everyone repeating the refrain after him:

● [539]

We are the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our totem (mvamayôn),
Yes, we are the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is totem for us all.

After this ceremony there are several more dances and songs. Finally at the end, the tribal chief is the first to uput the skulls back into the évora biéri, and everyone follows his example. He does the same thing with the totems, again followed by all the others. [540] All the boxes are then carefully put aside in a spot cleared in advance.

[778] All return to the open space. The rude altar, where the boxes, skulls, and totems had lain, is destroyed; the boxes are all heaped one upon the other; and great care is taken that no drop of the victim's blood that might have fallen on the ground be profaned by any touch at all. As soon as the victim itself has been immolated, it is laid on freshly cut green banana leaves -- it must never touch the ground -- and placed upon a pyre made from the altar wood, which is lighted. This task always falls to the new chief, never the practitioner. As soon as the victim has been cooked enough, it is put back on the banana leaves and cut up by the chief himself into as many pieces as there are persons present. No piece may be left over; no piece may be carried away. That would be a ritual offense of the gravest kind, and the Fan are convinced, or at least appear to be so, that the totem never fails to punish the wrongdoing by actual death of the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

114 and like a resistless army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns
167 and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpôngwes, often spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilisation above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

114 The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from,
197 the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first
173 day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bululand, I was able to make known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions. While visiting on a small island called Nengé-nenge in the Nkomo River, a very old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that, a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return. My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the
197 language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select
● 539 from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Alu da dayi bol' nzok?*" (Will one day rot an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alu avoti bol' nzok?*" Again, the Bulu use the words *Melu myus* (the days that are past), *Melu osu* (the days that are to come), *Melu meseze* (all the days). These sayings and numerous similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given me by the old Fang man at Nenge-nenge about the people who years ago "changed their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis of the Bulu.

The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when
101 questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang; if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many *moons* (months) you will find Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestionably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognised a marked similarity between them and the Osyeba, Monbutta and Nyamnyam people. There are
563 several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Nkomo river. The Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not without good reason. An old headman told me that the *mon nguí* (dwarfs) first

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563 discovered how to work *eki* (iron) and then taught others. They are also skilful hunters, and frequently succeed in killing game when others fail. In trade, it is almost impossible to cheat a dwarf, hence the Fang saying, "*Mon mei meduk mebe, mon nqui aduk avoti.*" (You can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once.) In this proverb the word "*mei*" equals Fang (see photographs and measurements of Fang dwarfs).

●[539]

266 The Fang are cannibals and only fear of the authorities keeps them in check. In the autumn of 1898 a man was killed and eaten within ten miles of our mission station on the Nkomo river. I heard of the affair two days after the man had been killed, and taking a boat hurried down to the place accompanied by one of the sons of King "Kelun" from Nenge-nenge, as guide. In the palaver house of the town was a captive boy in chains. The people of this town would not admit having eaten a man, yet did not deny it; they said that the human bones in a hole behind the palaver house were those of a man who had "died two days before." I afterward learnt that the captive boy had been killed and eaten a few days after my visit. Several Fang have admitted to me that "some Fang eat man meat," and they have been told that it is far more enjoyable to eat than goat. My informants always added that they would not do such a thing—"only bad Fang did so." What I have learned from others and my own observations lead me to believe that an immense tract of country in West Africa from a trifle north of the equatorial line extending even as far northward as to include a portion of the German sphere of influence in the Cameroons, is occupied by numerous anthropophagous tribes all more or less closely related.

II.—*Physical and Moral Characteristics.*

142 Physically the Fang are a fine people. They may be classed as of medium size. Some of the males are exceptionally large and well built. At Foulabifong, the Fang village on the Nkomo river, where I reside, there is a man belonging to the Esisis tribe who is the largest and finest specimen of humanity I have ever seen in Africa (photo shown on screen).

The skin colour of the Fang is sooty-black or dark reddish-brown, chocolate: (numbers 2 and 3 Topinard's scale); coal-black skins (number 1, Topinard's scale), are in the minority. The skin is smooth and when well cared for, as it very often is, it feels soft and velvety. In the adult the skin is lighter in the axilla; the palm of the hand and sole of foot are permanently yellow. The average Fang eye has a dark iris (class 1, Topinard's scale), and the eye-balls are placed with their long axes nearly in one horizontal plane. I have occasionally noticed a compression of the outer angle of the opening, mostly in females, strongly suggestive of the "almond eye." The hair may be classed as black and woolly. It is uniformly scattered over the hairy scalp; the hairs are coarse in texture. The males seem to have an aversion to hair on the face and frequently pluck it out; only a small percentage grow beards.

[302]

In adult males hair is often quite abundant on the chest and forearms.

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this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy. I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *meyak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mbon.

Ba du mbón osui, e vóm a ne ndzitál: a kaga boma mĕlu mĕla, be kwi tás: be sáli ne nye: be ndá mbŭk: be kĕzi nye mbák iti be nou mŭm: be-ña tynk: bingu vul: be kagu wana vul: be kĕzi nye ĕ mvĕ: vekoba ji: ve telĕ mvé mbon: weña mbon abon.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled*.

Azo Mfini: (Plantation).

Betata basa lewa bo dia inifini (our fathers did not make plantain villages), *n'afan eto bé* (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). *Fañ b'angeye infini ne bo bidji binne* (Fañ likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, because thus they get good food). *Bikon e djel ine, betok* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Infini O ne djal mae afan bibé* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nsen ane afan betata benga to bibé* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'angeye infini, ne dsi bidji binné. Mo'mbok a gouevi bayit: kwok benga ndm* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Menda infini me vic bo abé* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil)[1] *Fañ, Ba'dji asus mbéa kidiane* (Fañ they eat a meal of cassava in the morning).

Regarding the *Ebi* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Ebi* of the Fang is precisely similar to the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured.

XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten.

This town, named Olunda, is on the right bank of the Nkomo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nenge-nenge (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat

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The skin of a bush cat is part of the *biang-akamayong* called "Nsin." 789

The Mvang.—A triangular piece of iron filled with medicine, used to keep away witches, is also part of the *biang-akamayong.* 619

Biang-akong or *biang-abal* (war medicine).—This is also part of the *biang-akamayong*, and the shots from the guns of an enemy are of no avail.

One other important fetish hangs with the *biang-akamayong.*

A piece of very hard wood. Only a certain kind of woman is selected to find this wood; she is called a special or *selected* woman on account of certain peculiarities connected with her, *e.g.*, she always fails to catch fish, she may try all day but will not succeed in catching fish. The husband of such a woman, after intercourse with her, fails to catch fish the next day, he also fails to work. This is the kind of woman always selected to find this wood; it is hard wood, she is a hard woman, and she is called *Emunega ane alert* (the woman who is hard). This medicine is also called *biang-akong*, and shot from the guns of an enemy will not harm. [777] [824]

This is the *Biang-akamayong.*

XIII.—*Witchcraft. Evus* (*Witch.*)

If a person goes out to make witch (witch medicine, or play witch to harm others) he dies. The people take him to the backyard. Other people say, "We want to take the witch." If the corpse is a female, they open the belly. If the corpse is a male, they open the heart. They see the witch, they take it. If they bring the witch, they lay it on the smoke shelf. It dries. When finished drying they say, "We will use it as medicine." 754

This is *Evus* (witch).

Cursing dead Relations.—Written at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 13th, 1898. Told me by Ôvôn; fully confirmed by Ogandaga and Interpreter Roby.

E'kanesong (to curse dead relations).—This is a Fang custom. A man has a palaver with another, or goods stolen. He desires to get even with the thief. He calls a friend and curses his friend's dead relations, saying, 754 578 626

"Go and kill that person for me, or go and make him pay me goods; if you do so, I will then pay you for having cursed your dead relations." It is a serious matter to have dead relations cursed, and the friend feels very bad. He must do as bid, or he is branded as a coward, and after he has completed his task he then makes claim for payment.

Nge me bā jam dili, nge me ta minbin (If I do it, may I see the corpses [of my people]). A Fang way of swearing an oath. [539]

Ami ye mimbim mia, yinga me bat (My friend, by the corpses of your relations, kill those people for me).

Notes on *Ebómeda* (a curse).

Ilong s'ayoge (a curse that kills).

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754 *Vazege me ilong onga lóm me* (Take away the curse you have [sent] put
578 upon me).
626 *Vazege me bibomeda* (Take away the curse).
539 *Vazege me biyoge* (Take away the curse).
Bót bene mbómeda ch Anyambe edjam e mam mebē móa (People are cursed of God on account of their sins).

XIV.—*The Ngi.* (*A Fang Secret Society.*)

575 To members (*Bemvon*) the following things or *bityi* are forbidden :—
Bityi :—

1. To go and make or play at witch (make *evus*).
2. A male fowl is not to be eaten (shared) by two men of different clans.
3. Fish called *ngole* must not be partaken of with a woman.
4. Only the initiated are permitted to eat the fish called *ngone*.
5. Only the initiated may witness the Ngi dances. A woman who attempts to witness an Ngi dance will sicken and die.
6. Only the initiated must know about the bones used by Ngi.
7. A member of the Ngi society is not permitted to sleep on his back.
8. Food refuse must not be destroyed by fire.
9. To spit in the fire is against the law of Ngi (not permitted).
10. An uninitiated person will die if embraced by an Ngi.
11. To kick over rotten wood, logs, or forest stumps, is forbidden.
12. To cut a stick half through in the bush, and then bring it to town and break it, is forbidden. It must be cut through and the two pieces carried.
13. To kick the feet together after getting in bed, for the purpose of removing dust, is forbidden.

The violation of any of these mentioned *bityi* will bring misfortune and death on the *bemvon* (member).

Ngi means gorilla among the Fang; Nji means gorilla among the Bulu. The Bulu have the Nji secret society, which is reported as being precisely similar to the Fang Ngi; it came to the Bulu from the Fang.

XV.—*War.*

726 During a tribal war all adults act as warriors. There is no regular organisation of fighting men. It is a typical guerilla warfare. Parties of young men go forth at night to attack towns; others watch the forest paths to shoot men passing and [141] women going to work in the gardens. The Fang are noted for their love of war; they are the most warlike people in all West Africa. When a tribal war is on, a headman frequently goes out with a raiding party to attack the town; he carries with him the *biang-akamayong* (protecting medicine of the tribe). The usual mode of attack is as follows: Having decided to attack a town, the party of men (usually ten or

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fifteen) take their flint-lock muskets, heavily loaded with trade powder and handful of broken iron pot (iron trade pots) or small stones, and creep up close to the town after dark. Two men try to enter the town unobserved; if they succeed, then they knock at the door of a hut and say, "We are strangers travelling; give us fire and food." Directly a person inside the house opens the door, both men discharge their guns into the house, and immediately run for the bush toward their comrades. The whole town is soon in pursuit, and unless careful they run into an ambuscade prepared for them. A fight may occur, but more often the attacking party return to their town in triumph, shouting: "We are real men, we are real men, we have been to town, we have shot a man (or woman), we are men —real men." There is great rejoicing in their town, and a dance follows. If the palaver is a serious one, the town is often stockaded with split logs placed vertically in the ground; huts are likewise stockaded. Poisoned bamboo spikes are buried in the forest paths to wound the feet of an enemy. The weapons used and relied on to-day are flint-lock muskets. Spears are rapidly falling into disuse. The cross-bow is only used for shooting birds and small bush cats. It is a mistaken idea that the arrows used with the cross-bow are poisoned. Shields are not used. The chief causes of war are disputes over women, hence called "women palavers," and these feuds may last for years. Prisoners are often permitted to starve to death, and are occasionally killed and eaten. Owing to a bitter feud it is often impossible for the women to work in the gardens or fish on the river, the consequence being a great scarcity of food. In Foulabifong, where I resided, a woman palaver lasted over ten months, and the three adjoining towns were in a state of famine. A prisoner was nearly starved to death, and I had to repeatedly plead for him. During these feuds many women are shot while walking the paths. The Fang think it quite correct to shoot a woman; they say, "It is always *safe* to shoot a woman because she cannot shoot back." Prisoners are frequently exchanged, others are held as hostages.

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Abal (war). Translation.

If people are going to war they go in crowds. If they approach near the town (of the enemy) they hold a council. An old man (one) he says thus: We will go to fire when? Then the others say, We will go in the night. Then they stay (sit) there until night. Darkness comes, and they light a torch. Then two or three people go to the town, and the other people remain in the bush. If the people who went to the town find people sleeping, then they point their guns inside a house and fire. Then people die. Then they go back running to meet the other people. Then they all gather in one place and return singing to their own town. Then they beat the drum and rejoice. Then the people who remained in the town say: Tell us the news as you went. Then they tell the news. Then the headman sits down and tells all the people in town that a person must not go anywhere alone. Then all the people hear, and all sit down (remain around their town to await events).

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Ngang (Doctor). Translation.

[787] 726 539 789 The Ngang (witch doctor) prophesies war. If the war comes and is in the bush, then the doctor takes medicine wrapped in bush cat skin called *mebup*, and medicine in horns. He holds the horns in his hands. He counts the horns; he hangs the *mebup*. He says to the *mebup*, I say thus: No person must go to the forest. If a person goes anywhere the enemy will kill him. If a person says, I will not listen to the doctors' talk, I will go and do my work; then if he goes, the enemy kill him. If they kill a person, they take the heart and put it in the *abup*. They take an old witch and put it in the *abup*. Then if the doctor prophesies, the witch speaks from inside the medicine. The heart of the person, it talks.

XVI.—*Hunting Traps.*

224 The Fang are skilful hunters, but they justly give the credit of the chase to the *Nqui* (dwarfs). I have been told that a dwarf will go hunting in the bush and return with meat after a hunting party has returned unsuccessful from the same locality; the dwarfs have great patience. If while hunting in the forest a man sees a deer, he shouts for assistance: others come and help hunt. If the deer is killed, all claim a share, after one-third has been given to the man who first sighted the game. This is the custom when a man walking unarmed in the forest sights meat, and calls for aid. Meat killed by a regular hunting party is carried to their town and divided. Dogs are used to hunt game, the dogs wear wooden bells around the neck, sometimes the bells are made of iron. Flint-lock guns are used when hunting. Before a hunting party starts out it is the custom to make *biang nzali* (gun medicine), and to place the guns in it; this makes them shoot straight. The natives imitate very cleverly the calls of certain animals and birds for the purpose of decoy. Occasionally they drive game into an enclosure called *olam*. Spears are seldom used in the chase. The crossbow is used for shooting birds and small bush cats.

Poisoned arrows are not used with the crossbow. Pitfalls for game are dug and [441] covered with small branches and leaves; pigs and small deer frequently fall into them. A Fang never attempts to hit a bird on the wing. In firing the flint-locks the gun is not carried to the shoulder, but held by the stock in front of the body, the butt being on a level with the waist. Game laws are unknown.

After a successful hunting expedition the whole town indulges in a feast, men, women, and children eat until gorged; after a period of rest dancing commences and is kept up throughout the night.

Olam (Trap). Translation.

224 539 They take small trees and bamboo leaves and bush rope, and make a long fence. They leave holes for the traps and holes for the pitfalls (*i.e.*, opposite the

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places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the pitfalls. The animals which die in the *olam* are these. This is the *olam*.

XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death is due to *evus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised. Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as is the case almost throughout West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods. Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). The witch doctor, *ngangan*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch. I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches," and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most common wail is *Ó nan Ô! Ô tat Ô!* (Oh mother! Oh father!).

XVIII.—*Akóm.*

This is a dance. It is not *biang* (medicine) nor is it *ekí*. It is, however, practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a kobo ne kíd zie nkót.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ten*) which encloses the young of the spider (*ndenbóa*). This they spread over a hole (about ¾ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*mbang nsok*) from 1 to 2½ feet in length, attaching it with beeswax (*abē*) or a liquid which is obtained from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *akirl*. It possesses an adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be recognised. This instrument is called *mbang akóm*. The act of playing on the instrument is called *e kobe akóm* (*e kobe*, talk). The performer sings songs; the words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*a ye bo'bengese b'aka*).

Many songs are used in *akóm*. Here are three specimens of them:—

(1) *Benna b'abete kobo? Beso benga wog med.* Who speaks any more? (*i.e.*, Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure (*i.e.*, to the performance).

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Response by the audience: *Nangekobe.* This word seems to have no meaning but to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

(2) *Akóm ke yeye zazam.* Let not the *akóm* sing my song. This supposes that another similar performance (*akóm*) is going on in the neighbourhood, and the performers in it are urged not to make use of the song used by those in the first (*akóm*).

Response: *Ziazia, akóm ke yeye zazam.* The word *ziazia*, like *nangekobe*, appears to have no meaning, and to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

(3) *Ke bele me nzok zam ne mabata.* Do not catch hold of my instrument (tusk of elephant) with *mabata, i.e.*, because you have the sickness *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina).

Response: *Ziazia*; *ke bele me nzok zam ne mabata.*

XIX.—*Abnormalities (Natural Deformities), Albinism, Erythrism.*

During my residence among the Fang I saw five albinoes (shown on lantern slide). The natives say of these albinoes: "They are white, but *not real* white people." They are treated fairly well; their ever restless eyes cause them much ridicule and annoyance. I know of only one being married. They are not long lived. After death the skull of an albino is greatly valued for medicine, especially for placing with the *biang-akamayeng* (protector of the tribe).

Erythrism is occasionally met with. A red-haired Fang lived in the town of Jam-anen (large affair); his skin was chocolate colour, but his eyes had a pale pinkish colour. The first sight of a red-headed black man surprised me very much.

Hare lip is very rarely seen.

One case of hermaphrodism came under my notice, a Fang male; he was looked on as an *ngangan* (witch doctor) of great power, and was much reverenced.

Deformations (Artificial Deformities).

A. *Facial.*—The triangular nasal cartilage is frequently pierced. This practice is mostly indulged in by women. Bars of bamboo are inserted or porcupine quills. It is considered *mbung* (handsome).

The lips are not pierced or deformed in any way.

The ears are pierced and ear-rings worn.

Fetish is also suspended from the ears.

B. *Dental.*—Males file the upper and lower incisors to a sharp point. The only reason given is, "it is *mbung*" (handsome).

XX.—*Fang Proverbs and Sayings.*

Ma kóm wam nlem, I think in my heart.
Me ka, I am gone, said in taking leave.

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A akukut nlem, he has a foolish heart.

A nyegl ngôle vie, he likes his own body (is conceited). 539

Azô dili tyineba mvus, this matter (palaver or quarrel) is pushed back (*i.e.*, is to be forgotten).

W'yen njil, w'yen ndē, mót ekége yen owoban, you see your grandson and your great-grandson, but you cannot see the next generation.

Kunge eso a le we eneki, go; your father calls you down the street (a hint to leave).

Asong avoti da bôl asu, one rotten tooth spoils all (a person once caught lying cannot be trusted).

Me si mone kal meyong mese, I am not sister's son to all tribes (*i.e.*, I am not everybody's servant).

Ejó avoge ane ejima, another day is beautiful (like our saying "Every dog has his day").

Mon kon a'yen avoti, mon mót meyen m'bei, you can see a ghost once but a person twice.

Mon mie meduk m'bei, mon ngui aduk avorti, you can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once (here the word *mie* is used for *Fang*).

Jó sida avoti, there is more than one day (my turn will come).

M'sidie monge, I am not a child.

Discussion.

Mr. Crooke, after acknowledging the value of Dr. Bennett's researches among a most interesting people, called attention to the attribution of the art of metallurgy to the dwarf race, which corresponded with European folk-belief. He dwelt on the respect paid to the Palaver House; he gathered that a fire was kept there perpetually burning, though the cult of the sacred fire seemed to have been forgotten. It would thus correspond to the early Aryan institution of the house where the sacred fire was tended, which survived in the Greek Prytaneum. The author of the paper seemed to have failed to appreciate the motive of the rites of passing widows through fire and flagellating them. Judging from the analogy of similar rites in India and elsewhere, the object was to free the woman from the ghost of her late husband, which was supposed to cling to and possess her. 171

Mr. FitzGerald Marriott asked whether the witch-doctor who wore the white mask was a Ngi, since in certain parts of West Africa the witch-doctor was independent of the tribal society, while in others he was a member. He also asked whether the dance, in which Dr. Bennett says is played the "Embankong" (?) musical instrument made from an elephant's tusk, is in reality a species of secret society; for women and children are not allowed to see it, and it takes place by torch-light after dark. Thus it might answer to the Zan-gbe-to of the Slave Coast, which is a species of police society for seeing that every one is in his house after 9 o'clock at night, or like the Ayaka society of a district near the Kwa Ibo river, which sees that all the fires are out by a certain time. These societies also dance, sing and shout; therefore, as there is usually something beneath West African dances, it is probable that the players and dancers are a secret society or that there is some explanation for the existence of the dance. He also remarked